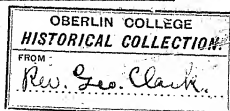


Geo. Clark.
THE CAUSE AND CURE OF OUR NATIONAL
TROUBLES.



SPEECH

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OF

ION. GEO. W. JULIAN,

OF INDIANA,

delivered in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, January 14, 1862.

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The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. JULIAN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Every thinking man naturally surveys the field of politics from his own peculiar stand-point, and reaches his conclusions by the help of his own methods of thought. Considerable diversities of judgment are therefore inevitable, even among the disciples of the same faith, while uniformity of opinion, however desirable in matters essential, is of far less consequence than perfect freedom of thought. The discovery and practical acceptance of the Truth should be our grand aim; and all harmony among men, secured by the sacrifice of this aim, is at once the sure prophecy and natural parent of discord. Since free thought and its free utterance must be the condition precedent of all progress, it may be safe to affirm that he is a better soldier in the army of reform who conscientiously battles even for false principles, than he who meanly accommodates himself to that which has numbers on its side, through a cowardly fear of dissent and division.

I propose, sir, somewhat in the spirit of these observations, to speak of the war in which our country is involved. In the name of a constituency of freemen, I shall say what I believe ought to be said, in the present stage of our national troubles; and I shall do so without favor or fear. This is a war of ideas, not less than of armies, and no servant of the Republic should march with muffled drums against the foe. So far as my own personal or political fortunes are concerned, I shall take no thought for the morrow. This is no time for any public man to confer with flesh and blood. The fabric of free Government, reared by our fathers, is in flames. In the opinion of many, the great Model Re-

public of the world is in the throes and spasms of death. This is one of the grand judgment-days of history, and whoever believes in the government of the world by a Providence will interpret this tremendous conflict as the voice of Jehovah, calling the nation to account for its sins, and teaching us, through the terrible lesson of civil war, that "the unjust thing shall not prosper." Sir, in a crisis so transcendently appalling as the present, so grandly solemnized by tokens of national retribution, the deepest moral convictions of every man should find a voice, and nothing should be more coveted than perfect self-renunciation and singleness of purpose in the endeavor to save the life of the Government and the liberty of the people.

Mr. Chairman, the *cause* of this gigantic conspiracy against the Constitution and laws is the topic which meets us at the very threshold of any intelligent thought or action on our part. What produced this infernal attempt upon the nation's life? What is it that has called into deadly conflict from the walks of peace more than a million of men, brethren and kindred, and the joint heirs of a common heritage of liberty? What power is it that has run through the entire gamut of ordinary villainies, and at last turned national assassin? These questions demand an answer. Shall we postpone it, as some of our loyal men advise us, till peace shall be restored, and the Union re-established? Sir, this would be to affront common sense, and surrender our mightiest weapons to the rebels. The solemn issue of national life or death must be disposed of upon its merits, and we should bring ourselves face to face with it, and with every question fairly connecting itself with the great controversy. If we expect the favor of God, we must lay hold of the *conscience* of our quarrel, instead of keeping it out of

sight. The revolutionary struggle of our fathers was preceded by the most exhaustive discussion of the causes which produced it, and which "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" required them "to declare." They based their justification before the world upon great primal truths, which they declared to be self-evident, and they appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions. Thus only could they have conquered. There was no vital question which they sought to ignore or postpone. So should it be with us to-day. Stern work has to be done, and our appeal must be to the enlightened judgment and roused moral sense of the people. The cause and the cure of our troubles are inseparably connected. This rebellion is not a stupendous accident. It is not an eccentric growth, disowning the ordinary law of cause and effect; and we must not "cut the thread of history from behind it," either to accommodate traitors or timid loyal men. It has not burst into life without any known parentage, but is the legitimate child of the foul ancestry from which it has sprung. It has a discoverable genesis, and the time has come to explore it.

It is argued, in very respectable quarters, that the slavery question has nothing to do with our present troubles. This rebellion, we are told, is the crowning fruit of the heresy of State rights, as expounded by some of the leading statesmen of our country, and the issue involved, therefore, is simply the old one between the Federal and Democratic parties. Sir, I hope we shall not be misled by this fallacy. I trust our detestation of this rebellion, and of the dogma on which it assumes to be based, will not drive us into a false position. I think there are such things as State rights, notwithstanding the efforts of rebels to make them a cloak for treason. I believe there is such a principle as State sovereignty, recognised, while limited, by the Federal Constitution itself. On this question I subscribe, in the main, to the teachings of James Madison, and with him I decline the consequences which slaveholding nullifiers have sought to deduce from his constitutional opinions. And, heartily as I condemn and denounce the dogma of secession, I believe it to be no more pernicious than that other heresy which has steadily aimed to swallow up the States, and all the departments of the Government, in the vortex of one centralized Federal power. Sir, no warnings of inspired or uninspired man were ever more completely justified by time than the warnings of Thomas Jefferson against Federal usurpation; and the principles declared in the case of Dred Scott, if practically recognised and accepted, would as perfectly accomplish the overthrow of the Government of our fathers as it would be possible to do by the most extravagant theory of the right of individual States to secede from the Union.

It was not jealousy of the Federal power that prompted the cotton States to secede, but their inability longer to rule the national Government in the interest of slavery. It was not jealousy of the aggressions of the State governments that gave birth to the Dred Scott decision, but the influence of that same slave power, sitting like a throned monarch on the supreme bench, in perverting the powers of the Government. Whether the Constitution has been made to dip towards centralization or State rights, the disturbing element has uniformly been slavery. This is the unclean spirit that from the beginning has needed exorcism. Without it there were not defects enough in the system of Government which our fathers left us to endanger its success, or seriously to disturb its equilibrium. To charge this rebellion upon secession, and not slavery, is like charging the domination of slavery itself upon the invention of the cotton-gin. Without the previous existence of slavery in the Southern States, cotton would not have been king. Instead of one all-engrossing pursuit, there would have been a healthy variety of enterprises, multiplied objects of interest, all conducted by educated labor, and stimulated by remuneration and the influence of competition. Slavery founded the kingdom of cotton, and secured its present ascendancy under the motive power of fresh lands and new labor-saving machinery, which it employed as the *occasion* for putting forth new life; and slavery is now seeking to found an empire of rebel sovereignties, in the name of State rights, which it uses as the convenient but perverted instrument of its purpose.

Mr. Chairman, when I say that this rebellion has its source and life in slavery, I only repeat a simple truism. No fact is better understood throughout the country, both by loyal and disloyal men. It is accepted by the people as if it were an intuition. And the germ of our troubles, it must be confessed, is in the Constitution itself. These may seem ungracious words, and will certainly win no applause; but it is best to face the truth, however unwelcome, and, if possible, profit by its lesson. I think it was Granville Sharpe who said that "God, in founding the universe, made it certain that every bargain with the devil should weaken the man who makes it." Sir, had our fathers, in the beginning, seen this truth in the light of the terrible facts which bear witness to it to-day, this horrid legacy of civil war would not have been entailed upon their children. On this subject I am not without very high authority, and I prefer to quote it:

"In the Articles of Confederation there was 'no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder; no double representation of him in the Federal councils; no power of taxation; no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of government came to be delegated to the Union, the

'South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom.'

So said John Quincy Adams, and he pronounced the bargain thus made by our fathers "morally and politically vicious." This bargain is the fountain of all our disasters. South Carolina and Georgia loved slavery better than they loved the Union, and hence our union with them has proved ill-matched, unnatural, and calamitous. The Constitution received its life in concessions which slavery demanded as conditions of union, and slavery, from that moment, has assumed to deal with the Constitution as its master. The rebels to-day in arms against the Government are the fit representatives of the rebels whom our fathers sought in vain to make loyal by concessions in the beginning.

I do not say that the founders of our Government are to be judged in the light of the terrible evils which have been the offspring of their mistake. We must view their action from their own point of vision, taking into the account their known opinions, wishes, and expectations. They regarded slavery with abhorrence. They would not allow the word slave, slavery, or even servitude, to be named in the Constitution. They believed the evil to be in the course of speedy decay and death. They forbid its introduction into all territory under national control. They took measures to cut off the foreign supply, the great artery of its life. Private emancipations were rapidly going on in all the States, under the influence of the Declaration of Independence, and the struggle for their own liberty. The concessions which they made, so emphatically condemned by Mr. Adams, must be interpreted by these facts of history, which must ever vindicate their good intentions, and separate them from the compromisers of a later day. They thought they were simply yielding to slavery a transient sufferance, a brief hospitality, so that it might die and pass away "decently and in order;" and they did not dream that the evil thus abetted would treacherously demand perpetuity, and bid freedom to serve at its black altar. It is not possible to believe that their bargain with slavery would ever have been made, had they foreseen the curses it has entailed upon the nation. Perfidiously laying hold of concessions generously made in its favor in the beginning, and too liberally repeated afterwards, and unwilling at length to share even a divided empire with freedom, to whom it has turned a deaf ear and an averted face, it has systematically trampled the Constitution under its feet in its ruthless march towards absolute dominion over these States.

The first fatal concession to this rebel power prepared the way for a second, and the history of its relations to the Government is a history of persistent but unavailing endeavors to placate its spirit, and make it possible for the nation to live with it in peace.

We gave it three large States, carved out of the Territory of Louisiana. The purchase of Florida was in obedience to its demands, and so was the prosecution of the Seminole and Florida wars. We assisted in expelling the red man from seven or eight States of the South, and forcing him into slavery, at the cost of many millions to the Government, so that the white man could enter with his peculiar institution, where otherwise it was forbidden. In order to "save the Union" and propitiate men who subordinated it to negro slavery, we abandoned the early policy of the fathers in 1820. In the same spirit, we consented to add an empire to slavery in the Southwest, in the annexation of Texas. We united in the prosecution of the Mexican war, well knowing that the extension of slavery was its object. Under the threat of disunion in 1850, we abandoned the Wilmot proviso, and entered into a covenant that the Territories of Utah and New Mexico should be received into the Union, with or without slavery as their people might determine; thus tempting the South to apply this principle, which was done in 1854, to the territory saved by the Missouri restriction; and by way of good measure, we furnished our rebel brethren with a fugitive slave act, which they had not seriously demanded as a condition of their loyalty. The Missouri compromise, made to pacify slavery, was overthrown at its bidding, by the help of Northern votes, while the Dred Scott decision was the work, in part, of Northern judges. Our hatred of the negro has cropped out in black codes in the free States which rival in villainy the worst features of the slave laws of the South. We have allowed slavery to expurgate our literature and mutilate the school-books of our children, while even the grand instrumentalities of the Church—its Tract and Bible and Missionary and Sunday School associations—have submitted to its unhallowed surveillance. We have consented to the suspension of the Constitution in the free States, through the fugitive-slave act of 1850, so far as the rights of trial by jury and *habeas corpus* are concerned; and in the slave States, so far as the rights of locomotion and free speech relate to our own citizens, whom we meekly permit to be driven out by mobs, tarred and feathered, or hung like criminals, without cause. We have permitted both Houses of Congress, the Executive and Judicial Departments of the Government, the Army and Navy, and our Foreign Diplomacy, to be controlled by this rebel interest, with the power all the while in our own hands to have done otherwise. Sir, it has ruled the Republic from the beginning. To pet and please it seems to have been

the work of our lives, and upon its rebel altar our public men, through long years of devil-worship, have offered their sacrifices.

Nor has the Republican party, Mr. Chairman, been wanting in tokens of forbearance towards the slave interest. While emphatically avowing an anti-slavery policy, to a certain extent, it has been still more emphatic in *disavowing* any purpose to go beyond its self-imposed limits. Nothing could exceed the persistency, emphasis, and fervor with which its editors, orators, and leaders have disowned the intention to interfere with slavery in the States of the South. They have protested, perpetually, and with uplifted hands, against "abolitionism," as if slavery had the stamp of divinity upon its brow. Denials, disclaimers, deprecations, virtual apologies to slavery, have been the order of the day with very many of our leaders; and so perfectly have we understood the art of prophesying smooth things, that multitudes have joined our organization, less through its known anti-slavery purpose, than the disavowal of any such purpose by those who have assumed to speak in its name. Great forbearance, moderation, and a studious deference to the constitutional rights of slavery, have uniformly marked the policy of the Republican party, and would have prevented this rebellion, had it been possible through the spirit of conciliation. Its chosen President is a cool, cautious politician, of conservative antecedents and most kindly disposition. No fact was better known to the leaders of this rebellion than that their constitutional rights were perfectly safe in his hands. He so assured them, solemnly, in his inaugural address. He declared himself in favor of enforcing the fugitive-slave act. He expressed his willingness to see the Constitution so amended as to tie up the hands of the people, forever, against the right to interfere with slavery in the States of the South; and this proposition to incorporate the Lecompton Constitution into the Constitution of the United States was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and submitted to them by the Peace Congress of last winter, inaugurated under Republican auspices, for the purpose of settling our national troubles without a resort to war. When all these friendly overtures were defiantly spurned by the rebels, the President still clung to the hope of rescuing them from their madness. He still thought it his duty to strive with them, through much forbearance, patient waiting, cautious diplomacy, and fatherly solicitude. So systematically did he seem to go down into the valley of humiliation, that some of his own party friends, yielding to their impatience, pronounced the first six weeks of his administration simply a continuation of the policy of his predecessor. Every conceivable expedient was resorted to, to preserve the public peace, and with such ingenuity and steadfastness did the Executive pursue his policy in this direction, that the rebels were at last obliged to fire upon

Fort Sumter for no better reason than the sending of provisions to prevent our garrison from starvation, which he kindly assured them was the sole purpose of the expedition.

Sir, this rebellion is a bloody and frightful demonstration of the fact that slavery and freedom cannot dwell together in peace. The experiment has been tried, thoroughly, perseveringly, and with a patience which defied despair and has culminated in civil war. We have pursued the spirit of conciliation to the very gates of death, and yet the "irrepressible conflict" is upon us, and must work out its needed lesson. I do not refer to our uniform forbearance towards slavery as a virtue. On the contrary, this has only maddened and emboldened its spirit, and hastened an event which was simply a question of time. We, in the free States, are not wholly guiltless, but I charge to the account of slavery that very timidity and lack of manhood in the North through which it has managed to rule the nation. It has prepared itself for its work of treason by feeding upon the virtue of our public men and demoralizing the spirit of our people. As an argument against slavery, this rebellion is absolutely overwhelming. Nothing could possibly add to its irresistible force. Other arguments, however convincing to men of reflection, have not thus far been able to rouse the mass of our people to any very earnest opposition to slavery upon principle; but this argument must prevail with every man who is not a rebel at heart. This black conspiracy against the life of the Republic, which has armed half a million of men in its work of treason, piracy and murder—this magnificent spectacle of total depravity made easy in real life, is the crowning flower and fruit of our partnership with the "sum of all villainies." All the crimes and horrors of this struggle for national existence cry out against it, and demand its utter political damnation. In the fires of the revolution which it has kindled, it has painted its own character with a pencil dipped in hell. The lives sacrificed in the war it has waged, the agonies of the battlefield, the bodies and limbs mangled and maimed for life, the widows and orphans made to mourn, the moral ravages of war, the waste of property, the burning of bridges, the robbery of forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and mints, the public sanction and practice of piracy, and the imminent peril to which the cause of free government throughout the world is subjected, all write their deep brand upon slavery as a Christless outlaw, and plead with us to smite it in the name of God.

Can I be mistaken, Mr. Chairman, in holding slavery to this fearful reckoning? If so, why has there been no rebellion in any non-slaveholding State? Why is it, that in the great centres of slavery treason is most rampant, while, as we recede into regions in which the slaves are few and scattered, as in Western Virginia, Delaware, and other border States,

we find the people loyally disposed towards the Union? These facts admit of but one explanation. Kindred to them is the known character of the men who are conducting this rebellion. They tell us, as Vice President Stephens has done, that slavery is to be the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy. Its leaders and their associates denounce Jefferson as a sophist, and the Declaration of Independence as "Red-Republican doctrine." They speak of the laboring millions of the free States as the "mud-sills of society," as a "pauper banditti," as "greasy mechanics and filthy operatives." They declare that "slavery, black or white, is right and necessary;" and this doctrine has been advocated by the Southern pulpit, and by the leading newspapers of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans. They believe with Calhoun, that slavery is "the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world." They agree with Governor Hammond, that "slavery supersedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and the other appendages of a hereditary system of government." They teach that "capital should own labor," and that "some men are born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them by the grace of God." In the language of a distinguished rebel Senator, they "would spread the blessings of slavery, like the religion of our divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth." By these atrocious sentiments they are animated in their revolt against the Government. Sir, does any man doubt that, should the rebels triumph over us, they will establish slavery in every free State? Was not the immediate cause of the revolt their inability to diffuse this curse under the Constitution? They do not disguise the fact that they are fighting for slavery. They tender us that special issue, and have staked the existence of their idol upon the success of their arms against us. If we meet them at all, we necessarily meet them on the issue they tender. If we fight at all, we must fight slavery as the grand rebel.

Do you tell me that the question involved in this war is simply one of Government or no Government? I admit it; but I say the *previous* question is slavery or freedom; or rather, it is the same question stated in different words. Slavery and treason, in this struggle, are identical. It is slavery which to-day has the Government by the throat, and thus thrusts upon us the issue of its life or death. Do you say that the preservation of the Union must be kept in view as the grand purpose of the war on our part? I admit it; but I say that nothing but slavery has brought the Union into peril. Its whole career, as I have shown, has been a perpetual conspiracy against the Constitution, crowned at last by a deadly stab at its life. Am I told that this is a war for the life and liberty of a nation belonging chiefly to the white race, and not a war for the emancipation of black men? I frankly agree to it;

but I insist that our national life and liberty can only be saved by giving freedom to all, and that all loyal men, therefore, should favor emancipation. Shall the nation be sacrificed rather than break the chains of the slave? Shall we madly attempt to carry on the war as if slavery had no existence? Shall we delude ourselves by mere phrases, and pretend ignorance of what every one knows and feels to be veritable truth? Shall we prosecute this war on false pretences? Shall we even shrink from the discussion of slavery, or talk about it in circumlocutions, lest we give offence to rebels and their sympathizers?

I know it was not the purpose of this Administration, at first, to abolish slavery, but only to save the Union, and maintain the old order of things. Neither was it the purpose of our fathers, in the beginning of the Revolution, to insist on independence. Before the first battles were fought, a reconciliation could have been secured simply by removing the grievance which led to arms. But events soon prepared the people to demand absolute separation. Similar facts may tell the story of the present struggle. In its beginning, neither the Administration nor the people foresaw its magnitude, nor the extraordinary means it would employ in prosecuting its designs. The crisis has assumed new features as the war has progressed. The policy of emancipation has been born of the circumstances of the rebellion, which every hour more and more plead for it. "Time makes more converts than reason." I believe the popular demand now is, or soon will be, the total extirpation of slavery as the righteous purpose of the war, and the only means of a lasting peace. We should not agree, if it were proposed, to restore slavery to its ancient rights under the Constitution, and allow it a new cycle of rebellion and crime.

The rebels have demanded a "reconstruction" on the basis of slavery; let us give them a "reconstruction" on the basis of freedom. Let us convert the rebel States into conquered provinces, remanding them to the *status* of mere Territories, and governing them as such in our discretion. Under no circumstances should we consent to end this struggle on terms that would leave us where we began it. To conclude the war by restoring slavery to the constitutional rights it has forfeited by treason, would be as unreasonable as putting out the fire, and turning loose the incendiary with torch in hand. It would be like reinstating the devil in Paradise, to re-enact his rebellion against the Most High. Sir, let us see to it, that out of this war shall come a permanent peace to these States. Let us demand "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." The mere suppression of the rebellion will be an empty mockery of our sufferings and sacrifices, if slavery shall be spared to canker the heart of the nation anew, and repeat its diabolical deeds. No, sir. The old

dispensation is past. It served us as a school-master, to bring us into a new and higher one, and we are now done with it forever. We determined, in 1860, that the domination of slavery should come to an end. The Government had long been drifting into its vortex, but we resolved, at whatever cost, to rescue it. Had we been satisfied with the rule of slavery, as it existed prior to the rebellion, we might have had peace to-day. We might have agreed to the election of Breckinridge. We might have avoided war, even after the election of Mr. Lincoln, by calling into his Cabinet the chief rebel conspirators, who would have been pacified by the spoils, while serving the behests of slavery. Having chosen a different course by the election of a man committed to a specific anti-slavery policy, and having undertaken to execute that policy against all opposition, we are now shut up to the single duty of crushing the rebellion at all hazards, and blasting, forever, the power that has called it into life.

Mr. Chairman, our power to destroy slavery now, I believe, is not questioned. The law of nations applicable to a state of war takes from this rebel power every constitutional refuge it could claim in a time of peace. The principle is thus declared by the illustrious statesman whose authority I have already quoted respecting another topic:

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

And again:

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of a State burdened with slavery to a foreign Power."

This, sir, is the grand weapon which the rebels have placed in our hands, and we should use it as a matter of clear and unhesitating duty. Not that the Constitution is so absolutely perfect, or so entirely sacred, that we can in no event disregard it. The nation is greater than the Constitution, because it made the Constitution. We had a country before we had a Constitution, and at all hazards we must save it. The Constitution was made for the people, not the people for the Constitution. Cases may arise in which patriotism itself may demand that we trample under our feet some of the most vital principles of the Constitution, and this has been done already by the present Ad-

ministration, under the exigencies of the war.

"Man is more than constitutions; better rot beneath the sod,
Than be true to Church and State, while we are doubly false to God."

But so far as emancipation is concerned, constitutional difficulties, if any existed, are no longer in the way, since the Constitution itself recognises the war power of the Government, which the rebels have compelled us to employ against them. They have sown the wind, now let them reap the whirlwind. We have leave to do what the great body of the people have hitherto excused themselves from doing, on the ground of impassable constitutional barriers, and our failure to act will be as criminal as the blessings of universal freedom would be priceless. "Man's liberty is God's opportunity." Not for all the wealth or honors of the universe should we now withhold our suffrage from the proposition to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Never, perhaps, in the history of any nation has so grand an occasion presented itself for serving the interests of humanity and freedom. And our responsibility, commensurate with our power, cannot be evaded. As we are freed from all antecedent obligations, we should deal with this remorseless oligarchy as if we were now at the beginning of the nation's life, and about to lay the foundations of empire in these States for ages to come. Our failure to give freedom to four millions of slaves would be a crime only to be measured by that of putting them in chains if they were free. If we could fully grasp this idea, our duty would become at once plain and imperative. We want not simply the military power to crush the rebellion, but the statesmanship that shall comprehend the crisis, and coin this "golden moment" into jewels of liberty and peace, for the future glory of the Republic.

Slavery, as I have already shown, has been the evil genius of the Government from its birth. It has frustrated the design of our fathers to form "a more perfect Union." It has made it impossible to "establish justice," or "to secure domestic tranquillity." It has weakened "the common defence" by inviting foreign attack. It has opposed the "general welfare" by its merciless aristocracy in human flesh. It has denied us "the blessings of liberty," and given us its own innumerable curses instead. It has laid waste the fairest and most fertile half of the Republic, staying its progress in population, wealth, power, knowledge, civilization, the arts, and religion, thus heaping its burdens upon the whole nation, and costing us far more than the market value of all the millions in bonds. It has made the establishment of free schools and a general system of education impossible. It has branded labor as dishonourable and degrading. It has filled the ranks of infidelity, and brought religion itself into scorn, by bribing its professors to espouse

its revolting iniquity. It has laid its wizard hand upon the mightiest statesmen and most royal intellects of the land, and harnessed them, like beasts of burden, in its loathsome service. It has denounced the Declaration of Independence as a political abomination, and dealt with our fathers as hypocrites, who affirmed its self-evident truths with a mental reservation, while appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions. While spreading licentiousness, concubinage, and crime where it rules, it has lifted up its rebel voice in the name of the United States, in pleading the cause of despotism in every part of the civilized world. And, as the fitting climax of its career of lawlessness, it has aimed its dagger at the Government that has fostered and guarded its life, and borne with its evil deeds, for more than seventy years. Sir, this mighty rebel against all law, human and divine, is now within our grasp, and we should strangle it forever. "New occasions teach new duties," and we should employ every weapon which the laws of war place within our reach in scourging it out of life. Not to do so, I repeat, would be the most Heaven-daring recreancy to the grand trust which the circumstances of the hour have committed to our hands. God forbid that we should throw away this sublime occasion for serving his cause on earth, leaving our children to deplore our failure, as we to-day have to deplore the slighted opportunities of the past.

Mr. Chairman, I have not referred, directly, to the question of humanity involved in the policy of crushing slavery by the war power. That subject has been considerably discussed before the country, and I do not propose to enter upon it here, beyond the incidental bearings of my argument. I waive none of my humanitarian grounds of opposition to slavery, but I prefer to deal with the practical issues of the crisis. I am for putting down slavery as a "military necessity," and as the dictate of the highest statesmanship. The immediate question before the country is the suppression of the rebellion, and the common laws which govern a war between nations apply to the conduct of a civil war. These laws are thus laid down by Vattel:

"Since the object of a just war is to repress injustice and violence, and forcibly to compel him who is deaf to the voice of justice, we have a right to put in practice against the enemy every measure that is necessary in order to weaken him, and disable him from resisting us and supporting his injustice; and we may choose such methods as are most efficacious, and best calculated to attain the end in view, provided they be not of an odious kind, nor unjustifiable in themselves, and prohibited by the law of nature."

Sir, I insist upon the application of this well-recognised principle of public law. That the overthrow of slavery "is necessary in order to

weaken" the enemy, "and disable him from resisting us and supporting his injustice," will not be disputed. That it would be a measure "most efficacious and best calculated to attain the end in view," is equally clear. Nor would it be "odious" to restore four millions of slaves to their natural rights, or "unjustifiable" in itself, or "prohibited by the law of nature." The friends of the Union need ask nothing more than the just application of the law of nations, and they certainly should be content with nothing less.

A right to subdue the rebels carries with it a right to employ the means of doing it, and of doing it effectively, and with the least possible cost. If slavery had not been made a party question, and trained us to yield an unnatural deference to its assumptions, we should have laid violent hands upon it at once. The thought of tenderly sparing it would not have occurred to any loyal man. As the most vulnerable point of the rebels, we should naturally have aimed at it our first and hardest blows; and I insist that we shall so far forget our party prejudices, and the dread of "abolitionism," as to do what the dictates of common sense and a regard for our own safety so clearly demand. Facts, bloody and terrific, are every day proving that slavery, or the Republic, must perish. As the animating principle of the rebellion, it stands between us and the Union, and we are compelled to smite it. To strike at it is to strike at treason; and to favor it in any way, however unwittingly, is to take sides with the rebels. They cherish it as the most precious of all earthly blessings. They love it with all the force of a long-fostered community of feeling; and the assertion is well attested, that the loss of a slave by Northern agency excites more sudden and wide-spread indignation than would the murder of his master.

Mr. Chairman, I need make no argument to prove that slavery is an element of positive strength to the rebels, unless we employ it in furthering our own cause. The slaves till the ground, and supply the rebel army with provisions. Those not fit to bear arms oversee the plantations. Multitudes can be spared for the army, since women overseers are as capable and trustworthy as men. Of the entire slave population of the South, according to the estimates of our last census returns, one million are males, capable of bearing arms. They cannot be neutral. As laborers, if not as soldiers, they will be the allies of the rebels, or of the Union. Count all the slaves on the side of treason, and we are eighteen millions against twelve millions. Count them on the loyal side, and we are twenty-two millions against eight. How shall this black power be wielded? A gentleman, occupying a very high official position, has said that it would be a disgrace to the people of the free States to call on four millions of blacks to aid in putting down eight millions of whites. Shall we then freely give the rebel-

lion four millions of allies, at the certain cost to us of many millions of money and many thousands of lives? And, if so, may we not as well reinforce the rebels with such portion of our own armies as will make the contest equal in numbers, and thus save our cause from "disgrace?" Is the conduct of this war to be the only subject which requires men to discard reason and forget humanity?

The rebels use their slaves in building fortifications; shall we not invite them to our lines, and employ them in the same business? The rebels employ them in raising the provisions, without which the armies must perish; shall we not entice them to join our standard, and thus compel the enemy to reinforce the plantation by weakening his army? The rebels employ them as cooks, messengers, teamsters, and scouts; shall we demand such services in order to spare slavery? The rebels organize regiments of black men, who shoot down our loyal white soldiers; shall we sacrifice our sons and brothers for the sake of slavery, refusing to put black men against black men, when the highest interests of both white and black plead for it? In the battles of the Revolution, and in the war of 1812, slaves and free men of color fought with a valor unexcelled by white men. Are we afraid that a like honor to the colored man would be repeated, and thus testify against his enslavement? I do not say that any general policy of arming the slaves should be avowed; but that in some capacity, military or civil, according to the circumstances of each particular case, they should be used in the necessary and appropriate work of weakening the power of their owners. Under competent military commanders we may possibly be able to subdue the rebels without calling to our aid their slaves; but have we a right to reject it, at the expense of prolonging the war, and augmenting its calamities? Is it a small thing to sacrifice unnecessarily the lives of our young and middle-aged men, the flower of the land, and rive with sorrow the hearts of friends and kindred? Can we afford a dollar of money, or a drop of blood, to spare the satanic power that has hatched this rebellion into life, and is now the sole barrier to our peace?

Sir, when the history of this rebellion shall be written, its saddest pages will record the careful and studious tenderness of the Administration towards American slavery. I say this with the sincerest regret. I do not doubt the good intentions of the President, nor would I forget the trying circumstances in which he and his advisers have been placed. Upon them, to a very great extent, must the hopes of our country rest in this crisis. To sustain their policy, wherever I can honestly do so, as a Representative of the people, is my first duty; and my second is, frankly to point out its errors, whilst avoiding, if possible, the attitude of an antagonist. Instead of making slavery the special object of attack, as the weak point of

the enemy, and the guilty cause of the war, the policy of the Administration has been that of perpetual deference to its claims. The Government speaks of it with bated breath. It handles it with kid gloves. Very often has it spread its parental wing over it, as the object of its peculiar care. In dealing with the interests of rebels, it singles out as its pet and favorite, as the spared object of its love, the hideous monster that is at once the body, soul, and spirit of the movement we are endeavoring to subdue. While the rebels have trampled the Constitution under their feet, and pursued their purposes like Thugs and pirates, the Government has lost no opportunity of declaring that the constitutional rights of slavery shall be protected by loyal men. The Secretary of State, in his instructions to Mr. Adams, of the 10th of April last, says:

"You will indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or even impatience, concerning the seceded States, their agents, or their people."

And he warns Mr. Adams to remember that these States are, and must ever continue to be, "equal and honored members of this Federal Union," and that their citizens "still are, and always must be, our kindred and countrymen." In his letter to Mr. Dayton, of April, 22, he tells him that—

"The rights of the States, and the condition of every human being in them, will remain subject to exactly the same laws and forms of administration, whether the revolution shall succeed or whether it shall fail; their constitutions and laws, customs, habits, and institutions, in either case, will remain the same."

In this he is followed by the President in his message of the 4th of July. In the letter just referred to, Mr. Seward even denies that any war exists between the loyal and disloyal States. Although in his letter to Mr. Clay, of May 6, he admits that the object of this rebellion is to create a nation built upon the principle that African slavery is a blessing, to be extended over the continent at whatever cost or sacrifice, yet in his letter to Mr. Corwin, of April 6, he says:

"The President does not expect that you will allude to the origin or causes of our domestic difficulties in your intercourse with the Government of Mexico."

The Secretary of War has taken pains to say, with emphasis and reiteration, that—

"This is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all constitutional rights of States, and the citizens of all the States of the Union."

I believe the Attorney General has been equally emphatic, and that he has even insisted upon the enforcement of the fugitive-slave act in Missouri, without any reference to the rebellion. The Secretary of the Interior, in a public speech in August last, declared that—

"This is not a war upon the institution of slavery, but a war for the restoration of the

Union and the protection of all citizens, in the South as well as in the North, in their constitutional rights."

And he affirmed that—

"There could not be found in South Carolina a man more anxious, religiously and scrupulously, to observe all the features of the Constitution relating to slavery than Abraham Lincoln."

Both Houses of Congress, in July, chimed in with this chorus of loyal voices on the side of the assumed constitutional rights of rebels, and our innocence of any hostile designs toward them; while the wretched legislative blunder known as the confiscation act is a fruit of the same fastidious and gingerly policy. No one, certainly, should condemn the Government for defining its position truly and cautiously as to its purpose and policy respecting the rebellion; but these never-ending platitudes about our kind intentions, and the constitutional rights of the scoundrels who have abdicated the Constitution and ceased to have any rights under it, shows how fearfully the power of slavery continues to mesmerize the conscience and manhood of our public men.

To this strange deference to slavery must be referred the fact that such swarms of disloyal men have been retained in the several Departments of the Government, and that the spirit and energy of the war have been paralyzed from the beginning. To the same cause must we attribute the recent proclamations of General Sherman and General Dix, and the humiliating services of our armies in the capture and return of fugitive slaves. Again and again have our commanders engaged in this execrable business, in disregard of the Constitution, and in defiance of all precedent. In numerous instances fugitives have been delivered to rebel masters—an offence compounded of piracy and treason, which should have been punished with death. Our soldiers have not only been compelled to take upon them the duties specially and exclusively belonging to the officers of law, provided by the fugitive act of 1850, but have been required to return fugitives when they had not passed out of the State in which they belonged, and where, of course, the law itself would furnish no remedy. Sir, our treatment of these fugitives has not only been disgraceful, but infamous. For the rebels, the Constitution has ceased to exist; but were it otherwise, it is neither the right nor the duty of our army to return their slaves. The Constitution deals with them as persons, and knows them only as loyal or disloyal. If they are disloyal, they are simply belligerents, and if found among us should no more be allowed to return than other rebels. If as loyal men they come to our lines, tendering us their aid, our commanders who return them to their rebel claimants should be summarily crowned with the honors of the gallows. I cannot now go into the history of the numerous cases in which offi-

cers of our army have driven from our lines, or restored to their claimants, the slaves who have come within our jurisdiction, and whose information, had it been accepted, would have averted some of the bloodiest tragedies of the war; but I trust some painstaking gentleman will undertake this task, and perform it honestly and thoroughly, however damning the record may be to the parties concerned.

The conduct of the Administration towards General Fremont forms a kindred topic of criticism. When he proclaimed freedom to the slaves of rebels in Missouri, it was greeted with almost universal joy throughout the free States. The popular instinct at once recognised it as a blow struck at the heart of the rebellion. The order that rebels should be shot did not carry with it half the significance of this proclamation of freedom to their slaves. But the President at once modified it, so far as its anti-slavery features went beyond the confiscation act of July. He had no objection to the shooting of rebels, though it was as unwarranted by the act of Congress as the emancipation of their slaves. Their slave *property* must be held as more sacred than any other property; more sacred than their lives; more sacred even than the life of the Republic. Could any policy be more utterly suicidal? Slavery burns our bridges; poisons our wells; destroys the lives of our people; fires our hospitals; murders our wounded soldiers; lays waste the country; turns pirate on the sea; confiscates our property of every description; arms with butcher-knives and tomahawks the savages of the Southwest as its allies; deals with our institutions with remorseless fury; and, in short, inundates the land with the villainies and crimes born of its devilish rule over these States; but when General Fremont declares that the slaves of rebels in arms against us within his military jurisdiction shall be free, the President—no doubt with the best of motives, but as if determined to give all the aid in his power to the rebellion—countermands the proclamation. He says he does this "most cheerfully."

The rebels may be shot, but while they keep up the fight against us their slaves shall supply them with provisions, without which their armies must perish and the lives of loyal men might be spared. The confiscation act bribes all the slaves of the South to murder our people, and the President refuses to allow the war power to go beyond it. The effect is, that if the slaves engage in the war at all, they must do so as our enemies, while, if they remain at home on their plantations, in the business of feeding the rebel army, they will have the protection both of the loyal and confederate governments. Sir, is not this a practical espousal of the rebellion by the Administration? When both parties to this struggle agree in subordinating the Union to slavery, is it not time for the people to speak? When the country is pouring out its treasure in streams that threat-

en it with financial ruin, and periling the lives of hundreds of thousands of our picked men to save the Republic, can we endure a policy so fatal to our success and so merciless in its results? It is known that General Fremont's proclamation was modified to accommodate the loyal slaveholders of Kentucky; but what right, I ask, had the loyal men of that State to complain if the disloyal men of Missouri forfeited their slaves by treason? If pretended loyal men in Kentucky or elsewhere value slavery above the Union, then they are not loyal, and the attempt to make them so by concessions will be vain. A conditional Union man is no Union man at all. Loyalty must be absolute. "If the Lord be God, serve him; but if Baal, serve him." There can be no middle ground. This, as I have said, is a war between the Government and slavery, and no man can really serve these two masters at the same time.

To this dread of offending slavery must be charged our loss of the sympathy and respect of the civilized world. We have no true battle-cry. We are fighting only for the Union, and taking pains to tell mankind that this does not mean liberty. We are the champions of "law and order," and by giving foreign nations to understand that we are making common cause with the rebels for slavery, or at least doing nothing to oppose it, we justify Lord John Russell in saying that this is simply "a war for independence on the part of the South, and for power on the part of the North." On the other hand, by assuming the attitude of revolutionists, the rebels appeal successfully to the sympathy of the millions in the Old World who love liberty, and whose zealous espousal of our cause could be secured by writing Freedom on our banner. Thus slavery murders our cause at home and invites hostility from abroad. According to Mr. Grattan, late British consul at Boston, the demand for emancipation by our Government "would ring in the ears of all England like an alarm bell, and stir the depths of popular feeling with the fervor of the Reformation, or the fanaticism of the Crusades." This is probably overstated, but is by no means wholly wanting in truth. I believe it was Daniel Webster who declared that public opinion is the mightiest power on earth. This power, to-day, is against us, through the timid and feeble policy we have pursued in dealing with the slave-breeders of the South. England has insulted us, and we are still in imminent peril of a foreign war, because slavery has palsied the arm of the Government, allowed it to utter no spirit-stirring word, balked the enthusiasm of the people, belittled the issue involved in our struggle, and held in fatal inactivity for months past our eager and brave soldiers, who would have brought this rebellion to an end ere to-day had they been permitted to march against the enemy under competent commanders. The

Government, taking counsel of its fears, has not dared to adopt a just policy, for fear of alienating its own pretended friends. The mistake of swerving the whole management of the war from its true course, in order to accommodate the equivocal loyalty of the border States, has brought the country to the very brink of ruin. It prevented, at first, the adoption of those bold and vigorous measures which might have strangled the rebellion before its birth, and is still protracting the struggle and sporting with our opportunities of success. Sir, our policy must be changed, radically and speedily, if we mean to be in earnest. We must let the world know that this is not a struggle for slavery in the border States, but for liberty and republicanism, and thus enlist the millions in the Old World in our cause, by fighting their battle as well as our own. If we fail to do this, and continue to carry on the war on the principle of "how not to do it," our grand armies will continue idle, our means of carrying on the war will be exhausted, the spirit of the people will at last give way, the power of the rebels will increase, foreign wars will be inevitable, and the cause of free government throughout the world will find a common grave with the institutions of our fathers.

Mr. Chairman, the time has come for us to deal with the actual and stern facts of our condition. We must cease to regard the rebels as misguided men, whose infatuation is to be deplored, whilst we still hope to bring them to their senses. We must cease our attacks upon the strong points only of the enemy, whilst we fail to strike at the weak ones, and madly hope to woo them back to a sense of their folly and crime. We must abandon, entirely, the delusion that rebels and outlaws have any rights under the Constitution, and deal with them as rebels and outlaws. No men since the world was made were ever more in earnest. They hate us supremely. The rattlesnake is the fitly-chosen symbol of their black confederacy. Their wrath is a desolating fire. The felt consciousness that they are in the wrong, and that we have for so many long years been the victims of their injustice, animates them with the fury of devils. They despise us all the more for every appeal we make to their sense of justice and fair play. They regard our free labor and free institutions with unutterable abhorrence. If they had the power they would exterminate us from the face of the earth. They have turned loose to prey upon the Republic the transmitted vices and diabolisms of two hundred years, and sooner than fail in their struggle they would light up Heaven itself with the red glare of the pit, and convert the earth into a carnival of devils. They have a mighty army, led by some of the ablest commanders in the world, and nerved for bloody deeds by all the power of desperation.

Sir, in such a contest we can spare no possible advantage. We want no war "conducted

on peace principles." Every weapon within our reach must be grasped. Every arrow in our quiver must be sped towards the heart of a rebel. Every obstacle in the path of our conquering hosts must be trodden down. War means ruin, destruction, death—and loyal slaveholders, and loyal non-slaveholders must stand out of the way, in this tremendous encounter with the assassins of liberty and free government. All tenderness toward such a foe is treason to our cause, murder to our people, faithlessness to the grandest and holiest trust ever committed to a free people. The policy for which I plead, sooner or later, must be adopted, if the rebels are to be mastered, and every delay puts in peril the precious interests for which we fight. Let us act at once, putting forth all our power. Let the war be made just as terrific to the rebels as possible, consistently with the laws of war. This will be at once a work of mercy, and the surest means of our triumph. Let us not mock the Almighty by waiting till we are forced by needless calamities to do what should be done at once, as the dictate alike of humanity and policy; for it may happen, when this rebellion shall have hung crape on one hundred thousand doors in the free States, that a ruined country will taunt us with the victory which might have been ours, and leave us only the poor consolation of bitter and unavailing regrets.

Mr. Chairman, the sweeping policy I would have the Government adopt towards slavery, will be objected to on the ground of its injustice towards the loyal slaveholders of the South. To this objection I have several replies to make.

In the first place, I would pay to every loyal slave claimant, on due proof of loyalty, the fairly-assessed value of his slaves. I would not do this as compensation, for no man should receive pay for robbing another of his earnings, and plundering him of his humanity; but as a means of facilitating a settlement of our troubles, and securing a lasting peace, I would tax the public Treasury to this extent. From the beginning, slavery has been an immense pecuniary burden, and we can well afford to pay the amount which this policy would impose, for the sake of getting rid of that burden forever.

In the next place, I reply that the total extirpation of slavery will be our only security against future trouble and discord. By any sacrifice, and by all possible means, should we now guard against a repetition of the scenes through which we have been called to pass. If we will heed the lesson of experience, we cannot go astray. Our fathers were very sure they had opened a vein that would speedily bleed slavery to death; but this rebellion is the bloody witness of their mistake. Shall we not profit by the lesson? It may be that, if the slaves of rebels are set free, slavery itself will fall. I do not believe it. The assertion has neither fact nor philosophy to sustain it.

No man, at any rate, *knows* it to be true; and for this reason, having now the power, we should foreordain the blessed fact which else may never come to pass. We have no right, certainly, to expose the future glory and peace of our country even to remote hazard, if we hold in our hands the power to prevent it.

I reply further: that, while loyal slaveholders may dislike exceedingly to part with their slaves, and still more to give up their cherished institution, yet the hardship of their case is not peculiar. This rebellion is placing heavy burdens upon all loyal men. At whatever cost, and at all hazards, it must be put down. This is the principle on which we must act. Accordingly, the State which I, in part, represent, has not only done her full share in the way of means to carry on the war, but has placed in the field one-twentieth part of her entire population. She will be ready to make still further sacrifices when they shall be demanded. Neither our property nor the lives of our people will be counted too precious for an offering. If loyal slaveholders are as patriotic as loyal non-slaveholders, they will be equally ready to make sacrifices. Education and habit have wedded them to the system of slavery, which, for three quarters of a century, has been preying upon the nation's life, and at last has ripened into the fruitage of civil war. They cannot demand of the millions of non-slaveholders, North and South, that this evil element shall be continued. As loyal men they cannot ask us to sacrifice the greater to the less, but in order to save the ship of State, should agree that slavery shall be thrown into the sea.

I reply, finally, that if the war is to be conducted on the policy of fully accommodating the wishes of loyal slaveholders, that policy will be found impracticable, and therefore need not be attempted. Loyal slaveholders on this floor vote to give the rebels the benefit of the fugitive-slave act of 1850 in recapturing their slaves. They vote also that our loyal soldiers shall volunteer as the slavehounds of rebels in the same villainous employment. Loyal slaveholders in both ends of this Capitol oppose the emancipation of the slaves of rebels, and publicly declare that such a measure would consolidate the people of the South as one man against the Union. They do not conceal the fact that they regard slavery as paramount to the Union. Sir, I shall most certainly refuse to go that length. On the contrary, the duty I learn from the position of these men is that of demolishing every vestige of slavery in the land. Since I cannot possibly accommodate them, and must give offence, I prefer to divide with them on principle, and extricate my conscience and self-respect entirely from the thralldom of a false position. I do not stop to inquire how many will agree with me, because I am not willing "to put duty to the vote;" and while I am ready to support any measure giving freedom only to the slaves of rebels, I must

not fail to stand by my own convictions, while leaving the wisdom or the folly of my position to be tried by the ordeal of time.

I must not conclude, Mr. Chairman, without noticing a further objection to the policy for which I contend. I refer to the alleged danger of this policy, and the disposition of the slaves after they shall be free. This objection, like the one just considered, invites several answers.

First, if I am right in dealing with the rebellion as the child of slavery, and in arguing that the salvation of the Republic demands its overthrow, then my position is fully sustained. It will not do to talk about consequences, for no possible consequences of emancipation could be worse than destroying the Government and subverting our free institutions. Do you ask me if I would "turn the slaves loose?" I reply, that this rebellion, threatening to desolate our land with the grandest assemblage of horrors ever witnessed on earth, is not the consequence of "turning the slaves loose," but of holding them in chains. Do you ask me what I would do with these liberated millions? I answer by asking what they will do with us if we insist on keeping them in bondage? Do you tell me that if the slaves are set free they will rise against their former masters, and pillage and lay waste the South? I answer, that all that, should it happen, would be far less deplorable than a struggle like this, involving the existence of a free nation of thirty millions of people, and the hope of the civilized world. If, therefore, our policy is to be determined by the question of consequences, the argument is clearly on the side of universal freedom.

I reply, in the second place, that emancipation will be wise, safe, and profitable, to both master and slave. In this assertion I am sustained by all history and experience relating to the question. Most triumphantly can I refer to the case of the British West Indies. There, by an act of legislation, nearly a million of slaves within those narrow islands, and greatly outnumbering the white population, were in an instant made free. No act of violence followed. No white man suffered in person or estate by reason of emancipation. In the island of Jamaica thirty insurrections occurred in the century which preceded emancipation, but not one has occurred since. If experience has established any fact, it is, that violence and crime on the part of the negro race are not the concomitants of freedom, but the offspring of slavery, and that the chief difficulty in the way of emancipation has always been the unfitness of the master. The history of emancipation in the French dominions, in South America, in the Danish West Indies, in Mexico, and in the West India colonies of the Dutch, will furnish concurrent testimony with that of the British West Indies as to the safety and profitableness of emancipation. It has been followed by general prosperity, and in the English and Danish

West Indies, especially, the slaves have become landholders, schools have been established, exports have increased, happiness has been promoted, and progress has become a law.

I answer, next, that if the slaves of the South are set free they will not be pent up within the confines of a few small islands, like those subjected to the great British experiment referred to. They occupy a country stretching between two oceans, vast portions of which are yet a wilderness. There is not only abundant room for them, but abundant need of their labor. They are not unfamiliar with industrial pursuits, and if compensated for their labor, and acted upon by the renovating power of kindness, they will not only take care of themselves, but become a mighty element of wealth in the latitudes of our country peculiarly suited to their constitution. Their local attachments are remarkable, and but for slavery they would not be found either in Canada or the Northern States. But I would give them freedom, and then leave them to the law of their condition. Let them work out their own destiny, and let them have fair play in fighting the battle of life. Colonization is one of the great tidal forces of modern civilization, and the enslaved races can scarcely escape the appeal it will make to their approving judgment. Hayti, near our shores, stretches forth her hands to welcome them to happy homes among a kindred people, where they can enjoy the blessing of equal rights. Remove slavery, and I believe the negro race among us will naturally gravitate towards a centre of its own, and separate itself from the race of its former oppressors. Our prejudices, borrowed from slavery, and still continuing to hold their sway, may aid this result; but if from any cause whatever these people should seek their welfare in other lands, I would, while leaving them perfectly free in this respect, encourage them by all the reasonable means in our power.

Lastly, to the assumed danger and impracticability of emancipation, I reply in the words of Dr. Channing:

"It is an impious error to suppose that injustice is a necessity under the government of the Most High. It is disloyalty to principle, treachery to virtue, to suppose that a righteous, generous work, conceived in a sense of duty, and carried on with deliberate forethought, can issue in misery, in ruin. To this want of faith in rectitude, society owes its woes; owes the licensed crimes and frauds of statesmen; the licensed frauds of trade; the continuance of slavery. Once let men put faith in rectitude—let them feel that justice is strength—that disinterestedness is a sun and a shield—that selfishness and crime are weak and miserable—and the face of the earth would be changed; the groans of ages would cease."

This, sir, is the impregnable ground on which I stand. God has not closed up the paths of

justice and mercy among men. He has not permitted a remediless evil. As I reject atheism, so do I believe it safe to restore to our enslaved millions the title-deeds of their freedom; safe to give them a fair day's wages for a fair day's work; safe to recognise their rights of marriage and the sacredness of the family; safe to allow them the untrammelled use of their powers of mind and body in the pursuit of their own highest good. And, I add, that the most deplorable sign of our times is the fact that the denial of all this is made the basis of our policy, and the test of our statesmanship. Very many of our public men practically disown the moral government of the world. Expediency is the law of their lives. They lack faith in the almightiness of truth and the profitableness of duty. With them diplomacy and crookedness seem to be innate qualities, and it sometimes

unfortunately happens that men are found in high places of power and trust while scoffing at virtue and wallowing in corruption.

Sir, in this season of great national trial we can only hope for the smiles of our Maker, through the recognition of liberty, justice, and humanity by those who wield the great and responsible powers of Government.

"God give us MEN! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinion and a will;
Men who have honor—men who *will not lie*;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking.
For while the rabble, with their thumb-screw creeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps."